

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 ACDA-10 CU-02 EB-03 SP-02 L-01

INR-05 CIAE-00 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 NSC-05

INRE-00 PRS-01 H-01 PM-03 DODE-00 /058 W

----- 051011

O R 050900Z FEB 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0473

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 0731

LIMDIS

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CSCE XG

SUBJECT: CSCE-BASKET III OVERVIEW

1. SUMMARY: WE SENSE THAT A GOOD DEAL OF THE STARCH IS GOING OUT OF THE EC-9'S POSITION ON BASKET III ISSUES GENERALLY. IN THE AFTERMATH OF GISCARD/BREZHNEV SUMMIT, AND IN ANTICIPATION OF WILSON'S MOSCOW TRIP, BOTH THE FRENCH AND UK DELS HAVE PERCEPTIBLY SHIFTED THEIR STANCE AND SEEM NOW TO ATTACH MORE IMPORTANCE TO EARLY CONCLUSION OF STAGE II THAN TO SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS IN BASKET III. THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THEY CAN WEAR DOWN THE WESTERN SIDE WITH THEIR PRESENT TACTICS OF AGGRESSIVELY PRESSING FOR EARLY AGREEMENT, WHILE OFFERING NO CONCESSIONS ON SUBSTANCE. THE SOVIETS COULD OVERPLAY THEIR HAND AND THUS STIFFEN ALLIED POSITIONS, BRING-
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ING BASKET III NEGOTIATIONS AGAIN INTO STALE-

MATE. BUT IF, IN CONTRAST, THE SOVIETS CAN BRING THEMSELVES TO MAKE A FEW CONCESSIONS, MOST OF THE REMAINING DIFFICULT ISSUES IN BASKET III COULD WELL BE SETTLED BY EARLY MARCH, AND NEARLY ALL OF THEM BEFORE THE EASTER BREAK. END SUMMARY.

DELEGATION ATTITUDES

2. SINCE THE TALKS RESUMED AFTER THE CHRISTMAS BREAK, THE EC-9 DELEGATIONS AS A GROUP HAVE BEEN LESS INCLINED THAN BEFORE TO BARGAIN TENACIOUSLY OVER BASKET III ISSUES. THE UK AND FRENCH DELEGATIONS WERE PREVIOUSLY THE MOST ACTIVE AND INFLUENTIAL AMONG THE NINE ON THE BROAD SPECTRUM OF BASKET III ISSUES. BUT IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE GISCARD/BREZHNEV SUMMIT, AND IN THE RUN-UP TO WILSON'S MOSCOW TRIP, BOTH DELEGATIONS HAVE PERCEPTIBLY SHIFTED THEIR STANCE AND NOW GIVE HIGHER PRIORITY TO AN EARLY CONCLUSION OF STAGE II. CONCURRENTLY, THEY HAVE BECOME LESS COMBATIVE THAN BEFORE ABOUT BASKET III ISSUES. THE FRG CONTINUES TO CONCENTRATE ITS ENERGIES HERE (INSIDE AND OUTSIDE BASKET III) ON MATTERS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO BONN, AND ITS DELEGATION IS NO MORE INCLINED THAN BEFORE TO MAKE A STUBBORN FIGHT OVER TOPICS NOT DIRECTLY RELATED TO SPECIAL WEST GERMAN INTERESTS. THE ITALIAN DELEGATION, USUALLY DISPOSED TO GIVE BATTLE FOR POINTS OF PRINCIPLE IN BASKET III, HAS BEHAVED IN MORE CONCILIATORY FASHION SINCE TALKS RESUMED AFTER CHRISTMAS. THIS LEAVES THE NETHERLANDS AS THE ONLY CONSISTENTLY HARD-LINE NATO DELEGATION ON BASKET III, BUT THE DUTCH ARE SOMETIMES JOINED BY THE CANADIANS.

3. NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS, MEANWHILE, HAVE LOST SOME OF THE ARDOR SEVERAL OF THEM EARLIER DISPLAYED FOR SOLID BASKET III RESULTS. THE SWISS, FOR EXAMPLE, RECENTLY TABLED A MINIMALIST TEXT ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS THAT TENDS TO UNDERMINE THE BARGAINING POSITION OF NATO DELEGATIONS ON THIS ISSUE.

4. THE SOVIETS FOR THEIR PART SEEM KEENLY AWARE OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THIS GENERAL PATTERN, AND IT MAY HAVE STRENGTHENED THEIR CHIEF BASKET III NEGOTIATOR DUBININ IN HIS CONVICTION THAT HE CAN WEAR DOWN THE WESTERN SIDE WITH HIS PRESENT TACTICS OF PRESSING INSISTENTLY FOR AGREEMENT, WHILE OFFERING NO CONCESSIONS ON SUBSTANCE. HOWEVER, DUBININ MAY OVERPLAY HIS HAND. THE ALLIES ARE LOOKING FOR REASONABLE COMPROMISES BUT ARE NOT YET READY TO GIVE WAY ACROSS THE BOARD. SOVIET

INTRANSIGENCE, IF IT CONTINUES, MAY STIFFEN ALLIED POSITIONS AND, ONCE AGAIN, LEAVE THE BASKET III NEGOTIATIONS IN DEADLOCK.

STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS

5. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, WE BELIEVE THAT--IF THE SOVIETS CAN BRING THEMSELVES TO MAKE A FEW CONCESSIONS --MOST OF THE REMAINING DIFFICULT ISSUES IN BASKET III MIGHT WELL BE SETTLED BY EARLY MARCH, AND NEARLY ALL OF THEM BEFORE THE EASTER BREAK, LIKELY TO START ON MARCH 21.

6. FIVE MAJOR ISSUES REMAIN: HUMAN CONTACTS INTRODUCTORY TEXT, TRAVEL; RADIO BROADCASTING; WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS; AND THE FRENCH PROPOSAL ON FOREIGN LIBRARIES AND READING ROOMS. THE FIRST THREE OF THE ABOVE MIGHT WELL BE SETTLED DURING THE NEXT THREE-FOUR WEEKS. IN ADDITION TO THE FIVE MAJOR ISSUES JUST MENTIONED, TWO TOPICS OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE COULD BECOME TROUBLESOME--THE INTRODUCTORY TEXTS TO THE INFORMATION AND CULTURE SUBHEADINGS UNDER BASKET III. THE FRENCH WANT THE INTRODUCTION TO THE CULTURE SUB-ITEM TO BE AN AMBITIOUS DECLARATION ON EUROPEAN CULTURAL COOPERATION, BUT THE SOVIETS WILL INSIST ON A MUCH LEANER TEXT.

7. WITH RESPECT TO SPECIFIC TOPICS, MOST ON THE WESTERN SIDE WOULD PREFER TO AVOID A LONG WRANGLE OVER THE HUMAN CONTACTS INTRODUCTORY TEXT, AND IF THE SOVIETS CAN SHOW SOME FLEXIBILITY IN RECONCILING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSIONS, THIS PAPER CAN PROBABLY BE AGREED IN TWO-THREE WEEKS, OR LESS. ON RADIO BROADCASTING, THE WESTERN COUNTRIES WILL

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PROBABLY SETTLE FOR MINIMAL RESULTS FAIRLY SOON. AGREEMENT ON THE TRAVEL TEXT SEEMS WITHIN GRASP, WITH PROGRESS BEING HELD UP BY A PERSONALITY SQUABBLE AMONG THE NINE OVER WHO SHOULD REPRESENT THEM IN FURTHER PRIVATE TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS.

8. THE JOURNALIST PAPER WILL PROBABLY TAKE A LITTLE LONGER, SINCE MOST NATO DELEGATIONS WANT A RESPECTABLE OUTCOME HERE AND SEVERAL OF THE TOUGH ISSUES HAVE NOT YET BEEN ADDRESSED. FRENCH WILL PROBABLY HOLD ON TO THEIR FOREIGN LIBRARY/READING ROOM, PROPOSAL UNTIL NEAR THE END OF STAGE II BUT, WE WOULD GUESS, WILL ULTIMATELY ACCEPT A MINIMAL RESULT RATHER THAN SPIN OUT STAGE II OVER THIS ISSUE.

9. TAKING THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES IN BASKET III ITEM BY ITEM, ONE COULD SAY THAT WORK ON HUMAN CONTACTS IS 90 PCT COMPLETED, WITH TEXTS ON FAMILY VISITS, FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND MARRIAGE PROVISIONALLY OR "MENTALLY" REGISTERED, AND WITH AGREEMENT IN SIGHT ON THE INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE AND ON THE TRAVLE PAPER. INFORMATION IS NOT QUITE SO FAR ALONG. TEXTS ON ORAL INFORMATION; DISSEMINATION OF PRINTED INFORMATION; ACCESS TO PRINTED INFORMATION; AND EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION IN THE INFORMATION FIELD ARE ALREADY PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED, AND AGREEMENT IS NEAR ON THE AUDIO-VISUAL PAPER (RADIO BROADCASTING). BUT A GOOD DEAL OF WORK REMAINS ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURKALISTS, AND THE DRAFTING OF AN INTRODUCTORY TEXT HAS NOT YET BEGUN.

10. IN EDUCATION, PERHAPS 90 PCT OF THE DRAFTING HAS BEEN CONCLUDED.THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT REMAINS TO BE COMPLETED AND A YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL ON NATIONAL MINITORIES MAY LEAD TO A LONG DEBATE. IN TERMS OF VOLUME OF DRAFTING IN CULTURE, ABOUT 2/3 OF THE WORK HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED. HOWEVER, TWO CONTENTIOUS (AND BASICALLY FRANCO-SOVIET) ISSUES REMAIN--THE LIBRARY-READING ROOM PROPOSAL AND THE PREAMBLE. UNDER THIS SUBHEADING ALSO THERE WILL BE A YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL ON NATIONAL MINORITIES. DALE
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMMITTEE MEETINGS, MEETING DELEGATIONS, BASKET III, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 FEB 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA00731
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750043-0746
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750271/aaaactlw.tel
Line Count: 201
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 MAY 2003 by ifshinsr>; APPROVED <15 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE-BASKET III OVERVIEW
TAGS: PFOR, XG, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006